THE WAR OF INTERVENTION AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION and the SECOND INTERNATIONAL

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I. IS THERE DANGER OF INTERVENTION?

"We are ready to wage war, and we await only a suitable international situation and finances which will surely come from one of the Powers desirous of seeing Bolshevism crushed and Russia returned to its people.

"I was proud to review my troops in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. . . . They have kept the discipline, subordination and enthusiasm of a well-trained army.

"We are only biding our time. If some day Russia starts to shake off Communism from inside the country we will march quickly across the borders and take the rural population with us to do battle round Moscow.

"Our ranks are filled with experienced soldiers and officers, many trained in the Czarist army.

"We now need only money to equip these 100,000 men, but that will come when the rest of Europe learns that it has to fight Communism to prevent the death of religion and civilisation as we know it.

"There is a superior academy in Paris where military science is taught to student officers, and there is a waiting list of pupils. We have taught ten thousand the fundamentals of the science of fighting.

"We are ready to-day, but we must bide our time. When Europe starts concerted action against the Communists we will move with the other armies. We are impatiently awaiting a call from over the frontiers."

General Miller, the leader of the White Guard military organisations in Paris, in the *Sunday Referee* of January 4, 1931.

The grand and victorious October Revolution of the year 1917 laid the basis for the first proletarian State. In the form of the Soviet Union, which has unfurled the victorious banner of the Hammer and Sickle over one-sixth of the earth's surface, the world of declining capitalism is faced by the world of victorious Socialist Construction. A new stage in the history of mankind has been inaugurated.

To-day, after fourteen years of mighty, heroic struggles, during which the working class of the Soviet Union, under the leadership of Lenin's Party, has not only beaten off all the attacks of its own bourgeoisie, which let loose civil war upon it, and the attempts at armed intervention, which were made by the imperialist powers, but has taken in hand its Socialist reconstruction at unheard of rates of speed. The land of the proletarian dictatorship, the Soviet Union, which is deeply anchored in the trust of the millions of Soviet workers and peasants, has stimulated unprecedented mass initiative and unexampled enthusiasm in working and fighting for the victorious fulfilment of the Five Year Plan in the shortest possible time. And every day the conviction grows

among the millions of down-trodden and exploited peoples in the capitalist colonial and semi-colonial countries of the world that the victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union is the strongest ally of the world proletariat in its struggle against world capitalism.

To-day, after fourteen years of the victorious dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet Union is engaged in completing the Socialist basis of its economy. Tremendous victories follow close upon one another. The fulfilment of the Five Year Plan in Four Years has become the cause of honour and glory. This greatest event in world history presents a contrast to the growing aggravation of the world economic crisis, which is of a magnitude unprecedented since the beginning of capitalism. This contrast in development: the unrestrained decline of the capitalist world on the one hand, and the vigorous advance of socialism in the Soviet Union, on the other hand, puts before the working class of the entire world, in all its acuteness, the question: who will win?

Will Socialism, which has already begun its victorious rule over one-sixth of the globe, triumph over world capitalism and bring peace, freedom and bread to the working class, or will the capitalists and their tools succeed in devastating the land of Socialism through bloody intervention, in delivering up the masses of Soviet workers and peasants to the greed of the imperialist powers, and in drowning in a new great bath of blood the will to struggle of the labouring masses of the entire world?

A war of intervention against the Soviet Union—of this the world proletariat is becoming more certain each day—would be, not the end, but the beginning of an intensified general offensive of capital against the proletariat of the world. A victory of the imperialist robber-States over the Soviet Union would be the greatest and most disastrous defeat which could ever be inflicted on the proletariat of the world.

The danger of a war of intervention against the Soviet Union is *real*. Its causes are too obvious to be hushed up or concealed even by the most shameless demagogy.

Intervention Arises out of Crisis. — The danger of a war of intervention against the Soviet Union is so imminent because the crisis which has laid its grip upon capitalist economy has grown to such proportions that a collapse seems unavoidable. All capitalist recipes up to now, including the quack remedies of the reformist Trade Union leaders and of the Social Fascist ministerial Socialists, for "saving industry" have not been able to stay the decline. More than thirty-five million unemployed, uninterrupted decline in production, shrinkage of foreign markets, shrinkage of purchasing power at home, mass impoverishment of the widest strata of the people,—all these tangible phenomena of the world crisis are forcing the international bourgeoisie more and more to seek the path which, in its opinion, represents the way out of the

crisis; but that is the path of war against the Soviet Union with the purpose of reconquering the Russian market, which was closed to capitalist exploitation after the victory of the October Revolution, and with the same blow to lay in ruins the home of the maturing world revolution.

The danger of intervention against the Soviet Union is so immediate and so great because the irresistible and victorious progress of Socialism puts the question of competition between the two world systems in a new light. There is no doubt whatever that this competition will end with the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, with the victory of Socialism over world capitalism.

The international bourgeoisie, which is following the development of the Soviet Union with the closest attention, has realised that the victory of the Five Year Plan in the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat is making the Soviet Union completely independent of the capitalist world. Professor O. M. W. Sprague, the American adviser to the Bank of England, speaking in his official capacity, said recently that, if something were not done, if "planned arrangement" were not carried out

> *"Then there could be nothing in the future for this country but a slow decline—or, if one generalised for the individualistic Western world, a slow decline relative to the possibilities of the competing regime which was being developed in Russia."* (*Times*, *May* 13, 1931.)

"The Five Year Plan is not merely a problem of the Soviets. It is a European problem, a world problem," declares the *Deutsche Bergwerkszeitung*, the organ of German heavy industry. The capitalists and their obedient tools in the camp of the Second International know too well that the victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union has become an inexhaustible source of strength for the struggle of the proletariat of the entire world.

Arising Class Struggles. — A further cause of the imminent danger of a war of intervention is to be found in the internal development of the capitalist countries, as an immediate consequence of the world economic crisis. Under the blows of the crisis class struggles are growing more acute, the revolutionary enthusiasm of the proletariat is finding expression in action. The battle between capital and labour is blazing up over an ever-broadening front and in more and more violet forms. Fierce economic struggles, heightened struggles of the masses defending themselves against Fascism and Social Fascism, revolutionary battles of the vanguard of the proletariat against the armed hireling troops of capital are continually shaking the already unsteady foundations of the capitalist economic order. The labouring peasant masses, stripped to the last penny by the agrarian crisis and large strata of the petty bourgeoisie and of the intelligentsia are falling into line on the battle-front of the class-conscious

proletariat, and are rallying around the banner of the Communist Parties.

This course of development, which in a number of countries presents the maturing of all the elements of a revolutionary crisis, is, along with the victorious existence of the Soviet Union, the strongest force driving the imperialists of the world to plans of intervention.

For many years the international bourgeoisie have hoped that the Soviet régime would break down of its own accord, or at least could be compelled to capitulate. These hopes have now been shattered. To-day the international bourgeoisie recognises that if it does not act now it may be too late. Since its own existence is now in danger, it is forced with complete frankness to put on the programme the question of a war against the Soviet Union. The question of "To be or not to be" for the capitalist economic order, compels it to put the question of the future existence of the Soviet Union.—But that is not only a question for the millions of Soviet workers and peasants; it is a question of life or death for the proletariat of the whole world.

All the facts go to prove that the world imperialists are getting ready all along the line to strike the decisive blow against the Soviet Union.

II. THE WAR OF INTERVENTION IS BEING PREPARED

The preparation for the war of intervention against the Soviet Union is going on simultaneously on all sectors of the front. The "moral" preparation is accompanied by preparations on the military, economic and financial fronts. The international bourgeoisie has mobilised all its auxiliary troops.

The Black United Front. — From the supreme pontiff of the Catholic Church to the pan-European advocates, from the religious sects to the Fascist murder organisations, from the kings of banking and industry to the Social Fascist chiefs of police and "Ministers of Labour," from open counter-revolution to the Social Democrats of the right and "left," they have all joined together in a united front against the Soviet Union.

Religion, the school, science, literature, the theatre and the press are mobilised to serve the campaign against the "nightmare of Bolshevism." Day by day in millions and billions of issues of the capitalist and Social Democratc press an unbridled campaign of hate is carried on against the Soviet Union. Lies and slander against the Soviet Union, against its Socialist reconstruction are manufactured like rubber goods or soap. The campaign of the Catholic Church against Bolshevism marked the beginning of the "moral" crusade against the Soviet Union. It was followed by

the campaign against alleged Soviet "dumping," which was later jazzed up by the mare's nest of "forced labour" in the Soviet Union. Later, followed a new and dastardly trick, the counterfeiting of Soviet bills of exchange and currency. All those campaigns, by their character and intensity, at once call to mind the years of the intervention, 1918-1919.

The same is true of the military preparations for intervention which have their visible expression in the conclusion of innumerable military and political conventions among the imperialist powers and their vassal States, as well as in the convocation of international conferences of every sort.

"Peace" Conferences. — More than a hundred conferences, sessions, commissions, have been held during the past ten years, all of which were summoned "to smooth the path to peace," but which as a matter of fact were above all intended to organise the international battle front against the Soviet Union. At these gatherings people talked about tariffs, about disarmament, about reduction of armaments, about the rights of national minorities, about peace; people declaim in glowing words on peace, but their main concern has been the concentration of all anti-Soviet forces, demanded by French imperialism as organiser of the war of intervention against the Soviet Union.

The French Government concluded military Treaties with Poland in 1920 and gave its protection to the Polish-Roumanian Treaty of 1921. England made the greatest endeavours to organise a Baltic block and encouraged the conclusion of the Esthonian-Latvian Military Treaty. To complete the guarantee pact a Polish-Roumanian military convention was concluded in 1926—the provisions of which were

> "1. In the event of the contracting States becoming involved in war with Soviet Russia the other Party pledges itself to come immediately to the assistance of the other with all its fighting forces, and (2) if the war is carried on against Russia alone, not less than nine-tenths of the fighting forces of both States must be thrown against the Russian armies."

The same purpose is pursued by the plan for Pan-Europe, laid down by Briand, the "Minister of Peace" so highly praised by the Second International. It is of the same origin as the numerous attempts which have been persistently made during the last few years by French imperialism to form a league of the Balkan States, and a league of the Baltic States.

That secret military agreements against the Soviet Union have been concluded under the aegis of the "pacifist" Briand, between French imperialism and its vassal states, Poland, Roumania, Yugoslavia, Czecho Slovakia and the Baltic States, is proved by the fact that the organisation and instruction of the armies in these countries are in the hands of officers of the French General Staff and that close connection exists between the military staffs of

these countries. In the years 1930 and 1931 conferences of the military representatives of France and all her vassal States were held in Prague and Paris at which the strategic plans for the coming war of intervention against the Soviet Union were drawn up.

The Economic War Against the Soviet Union.—The financial and economic preparations are visibly expressed in the fact that a number of countries, again under the leadership of France, have already openly declared economic war on the Soviet Union by attacking Soviet imports through emergency laws. The leading capitalist groups of the chief capitalist countries, first of all France, England and the United States of America, have publicly and unambiguously demanded a rupture of relations with the Soviet Union. At the various economic conferences, especially at the agrarian conferences held last year, the question was openly raised of organising a Mid-European economic block "against the Soviet steam-roller." At one of these conferences in Vienna, at which not only the Balkan States, but Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Austria and Hungary were represented, the President of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce, Count Hoyos, one of the strongest supporters of the Bethlen régime in Fascist Hungary, made the following declaration :

> "The question of common defence against the Soviet Union must be taken up energetically and solved, otherwise we are building castles in the air which the Soviet Union will simply puff away."

Count Hoyos pronounced these words to the applause of the entire conference. In them he expressed the frame of mind of the other participants.

The agrarian conference in Rome likewise continued this line. Amidst the chatter about pre-war tariffs and providing credit, the policy of organising a blockade against Soviet Russia was continued. And in Rome too the legend of Soviet "dumping" of wheat was repeated in order to convince the peasantry of Europe that war against the Soviet Union is the only way of escape from the horrors of starvation, ruin and destruction.

French Imperialism as Whipper-Up. — In September, 1927, Marshal Foch declared :

> "France is now compelled to support to the fullest extent England's policy against Moscow, and I personally am in favour of a complete rupture with Moscow."

Behind all these conferences and anti-Soviet resolutions stands French imperialism, to-day the unquestioned overlord of most of the States bordering the Soviet Union and the whipper-up of the anti-Soviet front. That the representatives of French imperialism supply not only the general directions for the decisions of these conferences but also for the campaign to provoke intervention, is confirmed by the explanations of Monsieur Henry Rolin concerning

the Five Year Plan. His opinion as that of a specialist in Russian questions passes as authoritative in the circles of French politicians and financiers. Rolin declares:

"The scope of and the speed with which the Five Year Plan is being carried out are causing a new agrarian revolution, which, if it prove lasting, will undoubtedly profoundly disturb the economic and social organisation of the other agrarian countries. As a matter of fact the realisation of the Five Year Plan is bound up with the success of industrialising Russian agriculture and turning it into a State industry. And the success of the Five Year Plan must inevitably bring with it the ruin of small-scale, foreign producers, who are not able to meet such gigantic competition. Such a conflict must undoubtedly end in war, unless the failure of the Russian attempt were certain sooner or later."

To-day the international bourgeoisie is united in admitting that the hopes based on the failure of the Five Year Plan were one great piece of self-deception. From this admission follows of necessity the conclusion, which Rolin has already drawn: that the conflict created by the realisation of the Five Year Plan must find an outlet in war, in a war of world capitalism against the Soviet Union.

The causes which are driving French imperialism to undertake the rôle of organiser of the war of intervention against the Soviet Union are, however, not only economic in character. One of the principal reasons why French imperialism is arming so feverishly in its preparations for intervention lies in the crisis which is being experienced by the system of the Versailles Peace Treaties. It is an undeniable fact that the system of Treaties of 1919, on which France's dominant position in Europe is chiefly based, is shattered beyond repair and that it is leading to contradictions for which there is no solution except war and revolution. Instead of industrial dominance, which it was prevented from realising because of the failure of the occupation of the Ruhr in 1923 and 1924, French imperialism, during the last few years, has held a position of political and military hegemony in Europe. This position of might has been becoming more and more unstable. French imperialism feels itself threatened by Germany and Italy. It knows that the destruction of its hegemony would smash the entire system of peace treaties from which it benefits most, to atoms. French imperialism is trying to avoid this development of events by organising a united anti-Soviet front for intervention against the Soviet Union under its leadership.

German Imperialism on the Anti-Soviet Front. — German imperialism likewise finds itself in tow of French imperialism. The renewed campaign of hate against the Soviet Union, which is being carried on by the capitalist and Fascist press, ably seconded by the Social Democratic papers, together with the fierce attacks

launched against the Communist Party, expresses the readiness of German imperialism to submit to France's leadership in the struggle against the Soviet Union. The anti-Soviet campaign in Germany is not an accidental stroke. It is the expression of the greatly increased hatred against the Soviet Union and at the same time of the growing dread on the part of the German bourgeoisie and their Social Fascist agents of the increase in influence of the Communist Party and the increased determination of the labouring masses to struggle against the capitalist offensive, against Fascist terrorisation through murder and the Social Fascist betrayal of the workers.

> "In the international atmosphere resound words like danger to civilisation, Communism, background of Russian economic successes, solidarity of capital." (*Berliner Tageblatt,* June 8, 1931.)

The increase and aggravation of class contradictions in Germany, the tremendous revolutionary upsurge during recent months compel the hasty enrolment of the German bourgeoisie in the anti-Soviet front. The leaders of the National Socialist movement, who have already been publicly exposed as the agents of German finance capital and heavy industry, openly and cynically advocate war against the Soviet Union. In all his proclamations Hitler calls for a crusade against Bolshevism. He demands war against the Soviet Union in order to "give the German will-to-live its necessary outlet to the East." The outcry against the "ruin-bringing Powers that made the Young Plan" is dying down. Its place is taken by the shameless and despicable campaign of slander against the Soviet Union, against the tremendous successes achieved on the front of Socialist reconstruction.

Under the pressure of this campaign the German bourgeoisie is already beginning to change its attitude towards Fascist Poland, that outpost of imperialism in the war against the Soviet Union. The German-Polish liquidation treaty is nothing else than the liquidation of the post-war policy of Germany in Eastern Europe, the sign of the readiness of German capital to come to an agreement with Polish capitalism for the purpose of waging a joint Polish-German struggle for the common class interests of the bourgeoisie of these countries. But these common class interests are, as a matter of fact, directed against the Soviet Union.

The *Bergwerkszeitung,* the organ of heavy industry, speaks out openly and plainly as to the new orientation of German foreign policy. This paper, which represents the interests which are striving for power in Germany, advise Brüning to sacrifie the still existent Russo-German relations on the altar of a western orientation chosen without reserve; it gives its reasons:

> "Our Russian policy has kept us estranged from England's western policy. But we have learned in the meantime that Russian maps seldom remain unchanged and England must

know that the Polish tanks are unable to preserve Central Europe from Bolshevism."

The same note was struck by the German Chancellor in the statement he made to the London press after his "confidential" conversations with MacDonald and Henderson. The German bourgeoisie is ready to buy the assistance of imperialist finance capital by at last getting in line in the anti-Soviet block. The German Reich, up to now a tributary State of the imperialist powers, is on its way to becoming their vassal State!

The new crisis of the July days following Hoover's "gesture" has made this even clearer.

Mr. MacDonald's Imperialism

British imperialism took an active part in the first intervention against the Soviet Union, especially in the oil districts of the Caucasus, and supported the robber-bands of the White Guards with arms, munitions and money. To-day also, it occupies a prominent place in the ranks of the powers hostile to the Soviets. During recent years, it is true, it has abandoned to French imperialism the initiative and leadership in this matter, but only in order to carry on its preparations the more intensively for the war of intervention on the eastern and south-eastern frontiers of the Soviet Union.

Thus, a Lieut.-Col. James Stuart is taking an expedition through little known parts of Asia—making flying grounds on the north side of the Himalayas in Sinkiang. This is in Chinese territory but, says the *Sunday Chronicle*, it is

"primarily a British step to assist China to combat the steady Russian absorption of the trade of Sinkiang.

Here, and in a thousand other places, the official and unofficial mechanism of the British imperialists gets to work. In the countries of the Near and Far East, in Irak, in Mesopotamia, in Persia and India, in Afghanistan and Palestine, everywhere the aggressiveness of British imperialism can be observed. From those countries the British imperialists hope at the decisive moment to fling out their front in order to seize Trans-Caucasia, the oil wells of Baku and Azerbaidjan.

India and Afghanistan have already been transformed into mobilisation grounds against the Soviet Union. During the last few years almost seven thousand miles of new railways have been built in India almost exclusively for strategical purposes. The modernising of the Indian army is proceeding at a rapid pace. In Persia the English have constructed a number of bases both for the fleet and for aerial squadrons. Even now England has at her disposal more than twenty-five air squadrons, stationed in India, Irak, Egypt and Palestine. The technique of modern aeronautics make it possible for English imperialists to reach Baku from their

air base on the coast of the Persian Gulf and return without landing.

The ruling class in India and Persia is systematically and diligently preparing for the war against the Soviet Union. Mass imprisonments, punitive expeditions, execution of revolutionary workers are the order of the day. At the same time, in the press financed and maintained by British imperialism, a systematic campaign of hatred and slander is being carried on against the Soviet Union.

Moreover, not only is the air arm being prepared to batter the Baku oil fields but the navy is manœuvring in the Baltic, building bases in the Black Sea, being regarded as the support by the border White armies, visiting the old "enemies" of Kiel.

The newspapers of the British capitalists at home conduct a furious series of campaigns. We find the big interests whose monopoly position is threatened by the Soviet exports taking a lead in the lies.

While the imperialists are persistently preparing war, the Labour Government, the Government of the Second International, acts as "cover" to their plans by pretence of recognition. But the pretence is soon exposed. After all it was a Liberal-Tory Government that first "recognised" the Soviet Union in 1921. They were driven by the same factors—the desperate state of British economy (Russia is the only market that showed an increase in orders in 1930) and the pressure and ferment of the workers.

The Labour Government is fighting a Soviet delegation for "repayment of the Tsar's debts, for compensation for property lost in the Rebellion" — speaking "very frankly" at the behest of the bankers at the same time as the payment of debts and reparations is strangling the capitalist world and causing widespread repudiation! But it is a long record of hostility. In 1924 the Labour Government fumbled the recognition question. Then came MacDonald's insolent letter based on the Zinovieff forgery.

In 1929 we have the express repetition by MacDonald that "we stand by . . . the conditions" of the Zinovieff letter dispatch, the attempt to make resumption of relations conditional on the settlement of disputed points, the selection as Ambassador of the reactionary bureaucrat Ovey, associate in the notorious "Northern Department" of the Foreign Office of Zinovieff letter Gregory, the speculator. Remember the whole subsequent line of the Government. Henderson establishes a secret committee of "enquiry" into "propaganda" and appeals to the Tories to give him "real information." On the basis of this backstairs "enquiry" he formally protests to the Soviet Ambassador—continuing the lying identification of the Soviet Government and the Communist International, which identification the former has

always expressly repudiated—and continues menacingly that "a continuation of this propaganda would be calculated to endanger the relations between the two countries"; to which he adds that if necessary the secret enquiry "machinery can be called into operation . . . in future." (House of Commons, October 30, 1930).

Recollect Henderson's angry protest against the association of British interests in the intervention plots exposed in the trial of the "Industrial Party."

> "I have reached the conclusion that these documents contain, in the observations made by the prosecution on the depositions of the prisoners, certain passages which appear to reflect adversely and without reason upon His Majesty's Government. . . . I take exception to those passages which contain adverse and unfounded reflections upon the late and present governments." (*Times*, December 2, 1930).

In the Lords debate on "forced labour" reported in *The Times* of February 5th, 1931, it was the Government spokesman, Lord Ponsonby, who said:

> "I fully admit that the *preparations of the Soviet Government for war* and the reliance of the Soviet Government on force is an element which is particularly distasteful to me, and which I very much regret." And again he continued: "The Government had grave suspicions that forced labour existed in the Soviet Union."

In regard to the "religious" campaign, Henderson, ex-President of the Second International, instructs the British Ambassador in Moscow to make an "inquiry," insolently ignoring all "non-interference" pledges (and then he refuses to publish the results of the inquiry, because it would blow the "persecution" yarns sky-high).

The "peace speech" by Mr. Henderson, His Majesty's Labour Minister for Foreign Affairs delivered at the last Geneva conference, and addressed to Comrade Litvinov, was contradicted that very same day. In answer to a question put in the House of Commons by his Conservative predecessor, Austen Chamberlain, on the Government's attitude toward the Soviet Union, MacDonald read a statement which was a shameless attack on the Soviet Union. He declared: "To-day there is nothing requiring us (i.e., H.M. Government) to vary the right hon. Gentleman's (Sir Austen Chamberlain's) principles of the diplomatic handling of the situation. We can complain about Moscow."

The Labour Government identifies itself openly with the Tory Government—with the bourgeoisie in its campaign against Russia.

Stowaways guilty of rape are admitted to take part in propaganda—but Soviet football teams are kept out. Bevin and the Labour Party in Whitechapel yell "ultimatum to Moscow Com-

munists! Hands off London democracy! No Russian slave labour or Bolshevik autocracy here!" This is the A.B.C. of war provocation. The Government is as hostile as the rest of the capitalists—its policy is dictated by the desire for orders and, primarily, fear of the workers. But alertness is necessary to keep that fear greater than their hatred. And the I.L.P. leaders whose chairman refused to attend the 10th anniversary celebrations because of "his comrades," rebels against Socialism in jail, whose organ, the *New Leader* kept quiet when their fellows were exposed as plotting intervention against the Soviet Union, whose leading theoretician, Brailsford, puts the whole onus of imperialism's attack on Russia and trots out the old imperialist arguments :

> "Moscow must also understand that in the long run the future of Anglo-Russian relations lies with her. . . . The ruling party of Russia must restrain the International which is its creation from hostile acts. Only on that condition can Russia securely enjoy the peace which she requires for her development." (H. N. Brailsford in the *New Leader,* March 7, 1930).

—this I.L.P. leadership merely takes part in the anti-Soviet campaign. It is not protection to the Russian workers.

American Imperialism Out for Profit. — An especially active rôle in the preparations for the war of intervention is being played by American imperialism. It was the metropolitan press of the United States which issued the slogan for the campaign against Soviet "dumping" and against alleged "forced labour" in the Soviet Union. It is the United States which have carried on economic warfare against the Soviet Union in the most acute and reckless forms. The United States have not only sanctioned the plans for intervention against the Soviet Union, but have already made all their preparations to accumulate wheat and war materials, in order to make a fat profit by supplying the needs of the European armies of intervention.

Under the leadership of these chief powers of world imperialism a united front has been formed of all Capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial countries against the Soviet Union. For the British "Labour" Government as well as for world imperialism, it is only a question of the time when they will gather their forces for the decisive blow against the Soviet Union and set their mercenary armies, armed to the teeth, in motion.

III. WAR INDUSTRY FLOURISHES

While production is continuously declining in all other branches of industry as a result of the tremendous economic crisis, we note a stupendous boom in the war industry of the imperialist powers and of their vassal States. This is particularly true of France, England, Italy, as well as Poland, Roumania, Yugoslavia, Czecho-Slovakia and the Baltic States. The economic crisis therefore has obviously not brought the development of war industry to a standstill. Quite the contrary. Despite the aggravation of the economic crisis with all its unendurable burdens for the toiling masses, despite their financial difficulties which are increasing daily, the Governments of the capitalist countries are systematically increasing their expenditures on armaments.

That the expansion of the war industries and of general armaments in all capitalist countries, partly carried out openly and partly in concealed forms, serve first of all the preparation for the war of intervention is shown by the following facts:

French imperialism is exerting every effort to strengthen the fighting capacity of its allies along the western frontiers of the Soviet Union,—Poland, Roumania and Czecho-Slovakia. The means of transport which must connect the industrial bases of the coming intervention in France and England with Poland and Roumania, the principal issues of the attack, do not seem sufficiently secure, so every measure has been taken to strengthen, as far as possible, the industrial bases for war in Poland, Roumania and Czecho-Slovakia. A further fact of importance is the financial expansion of the leading munition manufacturers of Western Europe, primarily the French firm of Schneider-Creusot and the English firm of Vickers, into Poland and Czecho-Slovakia.

The Chief Arsenal of the Army of Intervention. — Czecho-Slovakia has become the principal arsenal of Eastern and Southern Europe. It is at the same time the connecting link of the Polish-Roumanian-Baltic armies, since it has much better transport connections with these countries than has France or England. These facts explain why French capitalism has made the most of Czecho-Slovakia's industrial base, already highly developed before the war, to expand and develop its war industry to an enormous extent. For its activity Schneider-Creusot has made use of an entire financial system, in the form of two large banks, the "Union Européenne," with a capital of a hundred million francs, and the "Union Parisienne." Alongside this British capital has been also put into their works in large amounts.

These banks have played a special rôle in developing Czecho-Slovakian war industries and especially the *Skoda Works.*

Tremendous Earnings of the Skoda Works.—The *Skodowak,* the factory newspaper of the Skoda Works, publishes the following announcement:

"A conference of the financial consortium of Schneider-Creusot-Skoda was held recently, at which the final balance for the year 1930 was read as follows: 'Gross earnings 257 million crowns (37 million more than in the preceding year), net earnings, 68,876,000 crowns (one million more than the preceding year), 127 millions written off the books (43 millions more than the preceding year), dividend per share again amounts to 90 crowns'."

In 1929 it paid 28⅛%, in 1928 21⅞%.

Thanks to the efforts of French and Czecho-Slovakian capital there are at the present time in Czecho-Slovakia six rifle and machine-gun factories, five artillery works, fifteen cartridge and shell factories, four factories manufacturing aeroplane motors, eight gunpowder and explosives factories, ten factories for manufacturing gas poison and anti-poison gas materials.

In these enterprises more than seventy thousand workers are employed and in case of war the number of workers could be increased to three hundred thousand.

Polish Armaments Industry.—Second place among the States bordering the Soviet Union in regard to the expansion of the war industry is occupied by Poland. There the development of war industry is proceeding in different ways. Firstly, in building Government factories of a purely military nature; secondly, in developing private industry of the sort that can very quickly be reorganised into war industry. Along with these goes on the creation of semi-Governmental factories of a general industrial character, which, however, in case of war can be utilised for military purposes.

At the present time there are about forty thousand workers employed in Poland's war industry, in twenty large factories either owned or subsidised by the Government. Of these six are munitions factories, three gunpowder and explosives, two machine-gun factories, four aeroplane plants, two aeroplane motors, and two for armoured cars and tanks.

In the event of war more than half of Polish industry can be reorganised for military purposes.

Among the western border States, Roumania, after Czecho-Slovakia and Poland, possesses the strongest war industry.

With the support of French, English and Czech capital Roumania has of late years been laying the foundation of its own war industry and has adopted a series of organisational measures in order to be able to utilise the rest of its industry in case of war.

The brief description here presented of the basis of war industry in Czecho-Slovakia, Poland and Roumania does not by any means exhaust the auxiliary industrial resources which these countries will have at their disposal in case of war. Moreover, they can count on the support of the entire powerful war industry of France, England and the other capitalist countries. The armament, art-

silk, timber, aeroplane trusts, etc., have branches in these countries. In accordance with this, the construction of their own war industries in these countries is accompanied more and more by the construction of strategic railways and military harbours, intended for the transportation of armies and for military shipping.

New Railways and Military Harbours.—These measures as well as the construction of war industries, are carried out with the co-operation of French capital, which grants credits to the Governments of Poland and Roumania. Among the objects of this construction we may mention the Polish military harbour, Gdynia, near Danzig, on the Baltic Sea, the Roumanian harbour of Constanza, on the Black Sea, the great harbour of Salonika, with a special free port for Yugoslavia. To this list might be added the Polish railway Gdynia—Upper Silesia and the construction of railways in Roumania and Bulgaria with the intention of creating direct rail connection from Salonika via the Danube bridge, now being built near Rustchuk, to the eastern centres of Poland. All these railway constructions, according to the plans of the French General Staff, are to serve the purpose of guaranteeing independent rail and water connections between France and England and Poland and Roumania.

The preparation of intervention is evidenced further by the continual transportation of arms from France to the small States on the western frontier of the Soviet Union. The latter have imported from France guns to the value of eight million pounds, hand-grenades for twelve million pounds, machine-guns for two and a half million pounds, cannon for eight million pounds, and technical materials for four million pounds.

Billions for Armaments. — The growth of the official military budgets in the chief countries, France, England, United States, Italy and Japan, is shown by the following figures. In 1914, the military budgets of all these five countries amounted to 236 million pounds, in 1930 to 481 million pounds. That means that expenditure was doubled. In the border States — Finland, Esthonia, Poland, Latvia, Roumania — expenditure grew from 24 million pounds in 1923 to 35½ millions in 1930. And this growth has not come to a standstill in 1931. All these measures show how feverishly imperialism is carrying out its preparations for the war of intervention.

The British Labour Government, of the Second International, smokes the pipe of peace with Baldwin and Lloyd George at the Albert Hall meeting to denounce American and French armaments. But on the Army it spends nearly 40 million pounds, an increase in real values when falling prices are taken into account, and is undertaking a push for recruiting (helped by its relentless unemployment drive), and, says Mr. Shaw:

"It is impossible, in the circumstances, for me to recommend any further unilateral disarmament. The figures are against

it. Experience is against it. And in my opinion the chances of peace and disarmament are against it."

Meanwhile "mechanisation" of the Army goes on apace. Colonel F. A. Pile, Assistant-Director of Mechanisation at the War Office, declares that:

"Britain is undoubtedly ahead of all other nations as regards the quality of armoured fighting vehicles and also the ideas underlying their use. The new British 16-ton tank was easily the most powerful weapon that the soldier had been given to handle."

As regards the Navy, the Labour Government launched last year the nine million pound replacement programme. The "Labour Government," said the late Lord Thomson, "was repairing the damage done caused by the neglectful years of Conservative administration.' And Mr. MacDonald explains that the Treaty for limiting naval armaments invokes "restrictions" — but not "replacements." As witness:

"Sir D. Falle: Has the Prime Minister considered the effect of the restriction on private yards and employment?

Mr. MacDonald: *As a matter of fact there is no restriction at all, because other types will be built in substitution.*"

(House of Commons, July 21, 1930).

Actually the new cruisers and gun-boats, etc., "Specially adapted to the naval needs of the Empire" are *more* efficient for their deadly purposes.

We now arrive at the air arm, of such supreme importance in modern warfare. Here the 1931 net estimates, at £18,100,000, represent an increase of £250,000 on last year (gross estimates £21,297,200 an increase of £273,400). Last autumn it was announced that the Labour Government had placed an order for new war aircraft *"exceeding in magnitude any previous peace-time order."* Two special types of modern machines, the Hawker "Fury" and the Hawker "Hart," were ordered in sufficient quantity "to re-equip the great majority of fighter, interceptor fighter, ship fighter and day bomber squadrons in the R.A.F.," or nearly 200 machines in all. And these machines are precisely of the type demanded by aviation authorities *for a war on the Soviet Union.*

The air manœuvres take place between "Blueland" and "Redland," the description of the latter being that of the Baku oil region. The editor of the semi-official *Aeroplane* boasts of the purpose of these air preparations:

"When we plan to fight hordes of Eastern barbarians . . . the air scouts will radio these pictures from the scene of action to Headquarters and ultimately Headquarters will sit in its chairs and receive 'all singing and talking' movies of the Soviet Armies direct from the scene of action." (*Aeroplane*, 26/6/31).

And to sum up, the Tory ex-Minister congratulated the Under-Secretary, Mr. Tom Shaw, upon continuing without any breach of continuity the programme of air development, military and civil, which he found in existence when he went to the Air Ministry.

Hoare's congratulations stand as an apt summary of the general picture of war preparations that has been conveyed above. And, note, it is not a question of continuity in the sense of keeping armaments where they were, but of constant development, of the daily improvement and strengthening of the war machine of British imperialism to correspond alike with the latest advances in war technique (mechanisation, orders for new aeroplanes "exceeding in magnitude any previous peace-time order") and with the strategic situation (air manœuvres over country openly resembling the Baku oilfields, standardising of a cruiser type "specially adapted to the naval needs of the Empire"). This is the background of the Labour Government's approach to the Disarmament Conference.

(We are indebted to Allen Hutt's article in the *Labour Monthly*, May, 1931, for certain particulars.)

Proof of the Soviet Union's Policy of Peace.

"It will be seen that considerable changes in the correlation of forces have taken place on an international scale during the period under review. The most important factor in connection therewith is the incontestable fact that the rôle played by the Soviet Union in international relations has grown considerably, and at the same time the antagonism between the two fundamentally different social systems—the capitalist and the Soviet —becomes ever increasingly apparent. . . .

"This imperialist policy is directed immediately against our Five Year Plan, and our capitalist environment considers its most imperative task to be the frustration of this Plan at any price.

"The leading slogan of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union has always been, and continues to be, the slogan of the strengthening of peace. . . .

"We say openly to the workers of the Soviet Union and of all countries that the threats against the cause of peace are gathering. At the same time we express our unshakable conviction that an armed attack upon the Soviet Union signifies to-day the greatest danger for those who venture to break the peace and to attack the Soviet Union." (Molotov, in his speech at the VI. All-Union Soviet Congress.)

The attempts to provoke a rupture between the Soviet Union and Finland are taking on a frank and cynical character. The Finnish Parliament and the Finnish Government are quite openly helping to organise the anti-Soviet campaign. The allotment of special sums of money for the so-called "Ingermanland Committee" by the Finnish Government is a direct subventioning of the "Ingermanland" campaign.

In Finland they talk openly and frankly of the necessity of annexing Karelia, Leningrad, Viatka and the Mari-district. Esthonia demands the annexation of Ingermanland and Novgorod. In Warsaw the Poland of the times of the Jagellons has already been re-established on paper. In the military clubs there is already an atmosphere of intoxication with the idea of the victorious annexation or federation with "emancipated" Ukraine.

We close this summary of the most important measures of preparation taken by the international bourgeoisie for the war of intervention by a few quotations from the leading figures of the world bourgeoisie, especially of financial capitalism.

A Few Competent Witnesses. — At the time of the Geneva Conference of January, 1931, Briand, the "Man of Peace," declared to the representatives of the press :

> "Think of the unrest which the Soviet Five-Year Plan is capable of provoking in countries like Poland and Roumania, which have unsold supplies of grain and whose peasants are being drained by usurers. Bolshevism can quickly conquer all these countries. Only a great social movement would be necessary for Bolshevism, whose haunts lie so near at hand, to overflow these Polish and Roumanian territories. Therefore the small agrarian peoples of the west must be aided in order to be able to resist Bolshevism."

With these phrases Briand openly confesses the purpose of the armaments in the vassal States of French imperialism. Count Karolyi, the leader of Hungarian finance capital, the chairman of the Anglo-Hungarian Bank, speaks out even more clearly. In a leading article he wrote in the Fascist militant organ, *Magyarsag* :

> "Soviet production, which is developing to colossal dimensions, contrasts with the disquieting shrinking of industrial output and circulation of commodities in the capitalist countries. . . . The two systems must sooner or later come to grips. The hour of reckoning must sound soon."

The leader of Hungarian finance capital is not content with commonplaces to the effect that the "peaceful" capitalists must *also* get together against the Red danger, but states openly the *demand for armed intervention.*

> "In the question of a final reckoning with the Soviet Union the great powers must come to an agreement. With an international mercenary army, made up of several hundred thousand picked men, armed with all the means of modern military technique, the present Russian despotism must be attacked and demolished. . . . *The leadership of the international army must be in the hands of France.* And if this should prove impossible for any reason, an international convention must be formed with the most severe penalties for violation in order to encircle the Soviet Union completely and to forbid all commercial

intercourse with it. Those who violate this agreement must be declared enemies of their country and punished by death."

Count Karolyi concludes this programme with the warning:

"It is not yet too late, but in a few years it may be too late. We may hope that the Governments of the great capitalist powers will not come too late with their measures, in order that the scales may not incline to the side of the Communists."

This declaration, taken together with the facts which we have presented, is striking proof of the active preparations which are being made by world imperialism for the war of intervention against the Soviet Union. They show that the menace of intervention is no "Communist invention," but a real danger which faces the proletariat of the world in all seriousness and warns it to be most vigilant.

The greatest danger for the Soviet Union and for the world proletariat lies however in the fact that the world imperialism can, in fulfilling its predatory plans, count upon the active assistance of international Social Democracy, the Second International, which are becoming more and more the shock troops of world imperialism in the struggle against the Soviet Union!

IV. THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL AND WAR: A FEW HISTORICAL FACTS

The evidence we have given so far should be sufficient to convince workers who support the Social Democrats and the Labour Party that the *danger of a war of intervention against the Soviet Union* is very real. We now want to prove that the Socialist and Labour International is the main support of the international bourgeoisie in its struggle against the Soviet Union.

We will begin with a brief review of the first imperialist intervention against the Soviet Union and the later continued attacks made by counter-revolutionary bands organised by imperialism and the insurrections within the country, organised by the Mensheviks; we shall be particularly concerned with the part played by the Menshevik Party, which then, as to-day, forms an important part of the Second International and which helps to determine the latter's "Russian" policy.

From Kerensky to Krassnov, Denikin, Kolchak and Wrangel.—After the February revolution the Russian Mensheviks supported the policy and practices of the bourgeois Provisional Government and gave assistance by every manner of means to its capitalist ministers. From co-operating with Kerensky their path led to open support of the Tsarist general, Krassnov, and to the White Guard generals, Denikin, Kolchak and Wrangel, in their struggles against the proletarian revolution.

After the October revolution the Mensheviks took a further step into the camp of the imperialist enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They not only took an active part in the different counter-revolutionary insurrections against the Soviet power, but likewise maintained the closest connection with the White Guard movement. The whole period of the Civil War is full of concrete examples of the *active co-operation between the Mensheviks and the White Guards and the foreign imperialists supporting them and promoting the intervention.* We cannot give here a comprehensive picture of the Mensheviks' counter-revolutionary work. But even the few facts which we will enumerate here will be sufficient to portray the criminal rôle which the Mensheviks have played.

The Mensheviks who remained on Soviet territory after the Bolshevik revolution did not always, of course, come out as open supporters of the intervention. They often concealed their counter-revolutionary attitude under "Left" phrases about their loyal, if oppositional, attitude toward the Soviet Government, about recognising the historically progressive rôle of the Soviets "as such." But whenever the Mensheviks were under the protection of the interventionist armies or under the cover of the Czech legions organised by the imperialists, they came out openly in favour of intervention, in favour of the overthrow of the Soviet Government, and in favour of imperialism.

The Occupation of Odessa and Mr. Garvi.—A classic example of this is the Menshevik Garvi, to-day the Russian editor of *Vorwärts*, the organ of the Social Democratic Party of Germany.

The following is the declaration made on January 19, 1919, by Mr. Garvi in a speech he delivered at a meeting of the Menshevik organisations of Odessa after the *occupation of Odessa* by the *troops of French imperialism* and after those *bloody acts of vengeance* against the workers and Communists of Odessa which began with the first day of the arrival of troops of occupation :

> "The appearance of the Allies on the soil of Russia is the inevitable consequence of Brest-Litovsk. (The Brest Treaty of "peace" had already been annulled at that time.) The Allies have made their appearance here not so much in response to a summons as urged on by their own interests. *To call on the people to struggle against them would be madness and adventurism. The democratic elements must mobilise their forces and get into touch with the democracies of the Entente countries in order to bring about the rupture of the Allies with Russia's reactionary circles and give to their policies a democratic direction as regards Russia.* The Allies who have an objective interest in the unification of Russia, must be convinced that this unification is possible only on a democratic basis. The Entente policy toward Russia will be equally determined by the strength and determination of Russia's Democracy."

In these sentences Garvi unmasks himself as an avowed agent of French imperialism. During the trial of the Mensheviks in Moscow, reference was made to this speech, and Mr. Garvi, in the *Socialist Messenger,* the theoretical organ of the Russian Mensheviks which appears in Berlin, made the following lame reply :

> "We had to take into account the unalterable fact of the Entente occupation, just as previously we had had to reckon with the fact of the German occupation . . . In so far as the intervention was a hard fact of military and political reality, hopes were aroused in certain comrades, among them myself, for a certain time, that the policy of the intervening powers might be given a democratic tendency, under the pressure the democracy of the Entente countries could exercise upon their Governments, and first of all with the help of the Socialist Parties." (No. 3, 1931.)

Mr. Garvi therefore characterises the French intervention in 1918-1919 as an "inevitable fact." But his attempt to deny the fact of the alliance which the leaders of the Mensheviks had concluded with the leaders of the armies of intervention against the proletarian revolution has failed entirely.

The Menshevik Summons to Enrol in the Anti-Bolshevik Volunteer Army.—In Samara, where a Constituent Assembly had been convoked in the middle of 1918 under pressure of the Czech bayonets, the Mensheviks played a leading rôle. On June 11, 1918, the Menshevik party organisation in Samara determined to summon its adherents and sympathising workers *to enrol in the anti-Bolshevik volunteer army, in order to fight against the "Bolshevik bands."* (*Vechernaya Zarya* (*Evening Glow*), June 15, 1918, No. 72.)

In the middle of 1918 the Soviet Government was in an extremely dangerous situation. Everywhere the White Guards were pressing forward. The German armies likewise advanced. In the expectation that the ship of Bolshevism would soon be sunk, the "Left" (Martov) and centrist Mensheviks (Dan) changed their attitude. At their conference in May, 1918, the Mensheviks summoned the Russian workers "to arm for a stubborn struggle to replace the cracked image of the Socialist Republic by a truly democratic Republic." (Resolution on the report of Theodore Dan.)

But things turned out otherwise. The revolution in Germany and Austria cracked the iron ring of the German armies, which up to then had fought in common with the French troops of intervention and the White Guards bands against the proletarian State. The forces thus set free could then be turned victoriously against Denikin's and Kolchak's bands and prepare a crushing defeat for them.

The Tactical Manœuvring of the Mensheviks.—The victory of the Red Army forces again led to a bit of tactical manœuvring on the part of the Mensheviks. At the Party conference of the Mensheviks, held December 27, 1918, to January 1, 1919, one group carried on operations with "Left" phraseology. The "Left" Mensheviks labelled the "Right" (Liber, Potresov, Levitsky) as flunkeys of imperialism. In exactly the same way, at the Leipzig Party Congress, of the German Social Democratic Party, the "Left" Eckstein accused the Party's Executive Committee of supporting the Fascist Government. Whole Party organisations were threatened with expulsion for having supported the intervention too openly. The threats of the "Left" to exclude the Right interventionists, etc., were just emanations of hot air, however, and subsequently they were all absolved from sin.

The Georgian Mensheviks Favour the Imperialists of the West.—The rule of the Mensheviks in Georgia, from 1919 to 1921, is especially characteristic of the Mensheviks' attitude toward imperialism. The Georgian Mensheviks in the most shameless manner kept offering their services to whatever imperialists were at the moment nearest in force, one day to the Germans, next to the English or French. In its official report to the December-January conference, the Executive Committee of the Mensheviks of Georgia felt justified in declaring:

> "The party cannot and will not tolerate in its midst allies of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and of Anglo-American imperialism, however comprehensible the motives might be which had driven many of them to adopt such an alliance."

This declaration signifies the confession of the secret agreement of the Georgian Mensheviks with the imperialists. They did not confine themselves merely to co-operating with the foreign imperialists, but maintained constant connections with the counter-revolutionary White Guard armies. In a report of the Menshevik minister, Gegechkori, to Denikin we read:

> "As to the question of our attitude toward the Bolsheviks, I may state that the struggle against the Bolsheviks within our frontiers is carried on pitilessly. We are suppressing Bolshevism with all the means at our disposal."

And the leader of the Georgian Mensheviks, Jordania, to-day a prominent member of the Second International, made a declaration on January 14, 1920, at the Constituent Assembly of Georgia, in the course of which he said:

> "You know that Soviet Russia has offered us a military alliance. *But I shall give preference to the imperialists of the West as against the fanatics of the East.*"

The Kronstadt Uprising of 1921.—When the sailors in Kronstadt, either bribed or deceived by the imperialists and the White Guard counter-revolutionists, organised an uprising in February, 1921, again the Mensheviks, this time arm in arm with the

Anarchists, stood in the front line of the counter-revolution. The *Sotsialisticheskii Viestnik* (*Socialist Messenger*), the organ of the Mensheviks abroad, which first appeared in 1919, wrote about the Kronstadt uprising as follows:

"The masses go to death for the sake of the Menshevik slogans of political freedom, of the free election of the Soviets, of the emancipated trade unions, of the removal of the Party dictatorship, of the Communists and the reign of terror of the Cheka, and of the agreement with the peasantry on the basis of concessions to the principle of freedom of private trade. . . . Russian Social Democracy is all the more entitled to celebrate a triumph since it, in view of the complete absence of any organisation among the sailors, had no connection with their movement."

The Mensheviks tried vainly to wash their hands of the guilt. None other than the White Guards themselves have confirmed their active participation and praised them particularly. At the Third World Congress Lenin spoke as follows concerning the rôle of the Mensheviks during the Kronstadt uprising:

"*Apropos* the Kronstadt uprising, in which the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries fought side by side with the White Guards, Miliukov spoke in favour of the slogan, 'Soviets without the Bolsheviks.' Developing the same thought further, Miliukov wrote, 'Honour and gratitude to the Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, for they are the first to have the task of seizing power from the Bolsheviks'."

Thus we see that in the years 1918, 1919, 1920 and 1921, there was not a single counter-revolutionary attempt or uprising against the Soviet power in which the Mensheviks did not make common cause with the imperialists and the robber bands of the White Guards.

The Economic Programme of the Mensheviks.—When the New Economic Policy was introduced in the spring of 1921, general jubilation reigned in the capitalists' camp. The lurking robbers expected that the decision would mean the return of the Bolsheviks to capitalism. In this chorus of jubilation the Mensheviks of course chimed in. On October 4, 1921, Martov, the leader of the Mensheviks, published in the *Socialist Messenger* a long article entitled "Our Platform," in which we read the following:

"Our Party's economic programme must be subjected to complete revision. The Party must allow its viewpoint to be corrected by the fact that the reconstruction of Russia's ruined economy is going to take place chiefly on a *capitalist basis*, and that under the given historical premises that is the sensible way."

With the hope that the Bolsheviks would follow out this "sensible" way, many leading Menshevik officials within the Soviet Union offered to work in the Government institutions. They hoped in this way to get into positions which later, after the fall

of the Bolsheviks, would enable them to guide industry of the country according to their ideas. But history shattered their expectations; when the New Economic Policy led, not to a revision, as they had expected, but to a further development of the revolution, they made the pitiful attempt, by counter-revolutionary work and sabotage, to prepare the way for the "sensible path" of capitalism. In order to reach this goal more quickly they formed a close bloc with the counter-revolutionary kulak Party of Kondratiev, which was later allied with the Industrial Party, the organisation of the big capitalists, whose leaders faced the Supreme Proletarian Court of the Soviet Union at the end of 1930.

The Polish Mensheviks and Intervention.—The part played by the Polish Mensheviks was not less criminal than the rôle of the Russian ones. In February, 1919, the Cracow organ of the Polish Socialist Party, *Naprozo* wrote:

> "In the dispute with the Soviet Republic over Lithuania Poland must take the initiative which should show that it is able to get its own views carried out in the Eastern question."

The organ of the peace-loving Polish "Socialists" advises Paderewski's bourgeois Government to "seize the initiative," in other words, to organise a military attack, to seize Vilna, which, as a matter of fact, was carried out in April.

The Polish Socialist Party, which had taken most active part in drowning the Ukrainian insurrection in Eastern Galicia, greeted with enthusiasm the advance of the Polish "white eagle" upon another sector of the front, upon the soil of Western White Russia. The capture of Vilna by Polish armies was declared by the P.P.S. to be a triumph for the principle of "self-determination" of nations.

In the middle of March, 1920, secret negotiations were begun between the then head of the government, Pilsudski, and the Ukrainian soldier of fortune, Petlura. The leader of the P.P.S. Daszynski, took part in the negotiations. The upshot was an agreement with Petlura, on the basis of which Pilsudski bound himself to *occupy the Ukraine up to the Dniepr River.* In the Sejm's commission for foreign affairs, the P.P.S. representatives voted on April 22, 1920, for the proposition, "To accept for consideration the Government's declaration" on the question of the agreement with Petlura; at the same time, Daszynski asserted that *Poland must strive for the boundaries of* 1792. In the plenary session of the Sejm, three days later, Daszynski declared in the name of his fraction, that the agreement with Petlura "was wise, and in view of the forces of Poland and the Ukraine, was necessary."

Under the mighty blows of the Red Army, of the workers and peasants, the Polish troops were forced to leave Soviet Ukraine in double-quick time; they fled panic-stricken to the walls of Warsaw. Ten thousand revolutionary workers and peasants were

thrown in the Polish prisons. *In order to save the power of the bourgeoisie, the P.P.S., together with all other bourgeois parties, formed a coalition government, with the leader of the kulak party,* Witos as Minister-President, and the leader of the P.P.S., Daszynski, as his substitute, at the head of it. This "Workers' and Peasants' Government"—thus the P.P.S. described to the workers this counter-revolutionary coalition — promised the peasants land, the workers social reform, and by means of these lying promises tried to minimise the raging White terror, the pitiless suppression of the struggle of the workers and peasants. At the meetings of the P.P.S. and in its party press veritable orgies of nationalism were engaged in, in order to poison the minds of the toiling masses with hate against the "Muscovites."

"Workers! Trample the Muscovites under foot like reptiles, sow the ground with their corpses!"

That was the text of the "revolutionary hymn" which the *Robotnik* (central organ of the P.P.S.) ordered to be sung as the new proletarian hymn in the "workers' regiment for the defence of Warsaw," organised by the P.P.S.

"Polish militarism can now show the very greatest service to the world," declared Daszynski at the session of the Central Committee of the P.P.S. on August 29, 1920.

During the peace negotiations in Minsk and Riga the leaders of the P.P.S., Burlicki and Perl, as members of the government's delegation, defended the imperialist claims of the Polish capitalists and landlords. After the Peace of Riga, the leaders of the P.P.S., in the name of democracy, supported all kinds of White Guard adventurers, like Savinkov, Ralakhovich, Petlura, Tiuiunik, etc.

In the years that followed Polish Social Democracy continued this anti-Soviet line of policy. To-day the P.P.S., along with the German, French, Belgian, English, Czech and Austrian Social Democracy, stands in the front line in the struggle against the Soviet Union.

German Social Democracy and the First Intervention. — The rôle which German Social Democracy played during the first intervention and in the various counter-revolutionary uprisings, is not less pitiful than that of the Polish and Russian Mensheviks. German Social Democracy not only gave its full agreement to the piratical Brest "treaty of peace," but supported the continuation of the war against the Russian people after the peace had been concluded. Nor must it be forgotten that it was the Ebert-Scheidemann Social Democratic Government which allowed the guerrilla warfare against the Soviet Union to be continued by the Baltic troops and which sent the Social Democrat deputy, Winnig, as the Government's commissar to the headquarters of the Baltic troops. During the Polish-Russian war it was the Government of Hermann Müller which concluded a pact with the French Government to supply war materials and transport the French

troops to Poland on German railways, *an act which was equivalent to a public act of war against the Soviet Union.* On the same plane is the attitude of German Social Democracy toward England's piratical campaign in Azerbaidjan in 1922, which was undertaken against the oilfields of Baku in alliance with the Georgian Mensheviks.

But German Social Democracy was not alone; English, French, Czech and Belgian Social Democracy supported the first intervention against the Soviet Union. The entire Second International and the Austro-Marxian Two and a Half International not only gave their approval to the war of intervention, but lent it their active support and carried on a despicable campaign of detraction against the Soviet Union.

With this we may close our historical survey. The result of the French intervention in Southern Russia was: 38,436 persons murdered and tortured to death, 61,000 workers and peasants wounded, crippled and flayed. The commission for the support of the victims of the intervention received 237,877 reports of ruined and plundered inhabitants. That is one balance-sheet of the civilising activity of French humanitarianism in the South of Russia. The English did not differ much from their French allies. The execution of the twenty-six communists in Baku is well-known. In their intervention in Siberia the Japanese displayed a cruelty which is proverbial to this day in Siberia.

Lenin on the Rôle of the Mensheviks. — In an article on the purging of the Party, after the end of the civil war, Lenin characterised the attitude of the Mensheviks during the time of the civil war and intervention in the following way:

> *"During the period of 1918-1921, the Mensheviks showed two of their peculiarities: one is the skilful adaptation to the moods predominating at any given time among the workers, the other their inclination to serve the White Guards and at the same time belittle this service."*

These words of Lenin hold true not only for the Mensheviks of those times, they are fully applicable to the Mensheviks of to-day and to the entire Second International.

V. THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL ON THE INTERVENTION FRONT

Perhaps workers who support the Social Democrats and the Labour Party say: "Of course these things should be condemned. But this is a matter of the past; our leaders do not do these things to-day. They are opposed to war against the Soviet Union. The resolutions of the Second International and of our Party prove that."

To this we answer: the leaders of the Second International and of the Social Democratic Parties and the Labour Party, which are affiliated to it, are the very men who supported imperialist intervention and the repeated attacks of the counter-revolutionary White Guards against the Soviet Union in 1918-1919. Since that time, their very intimate co-operation with the bourgeoisie in all countries and their direct participation in imperialist governments have still further heightened their hatred, their hostility and their aggressiveness against the Soviet Union . . . Their desire to put an end to the Soviet Union, by any "expedient" means, even by armed intervention, is stronger to-day than ever. And in order to prove that the Russian Mensheviks, the Dans and Abramoviches, as well as the West European Social Democrats, the Vandervelde, Blums, Bauers, Kautskys, Wels, Hilferdings, are not a whit better than they were ten and more years ago, we shall allow the facts to speak out again, and remember that the British Labour Party is one of the bulwarks of the Second International, an organised part of this conspiracy. Leading ministers of the Labour Party are members of it: the Prime Minister is an ex-Secretary, the Foreign Secretary is an ex-President and the Minister of War is an ex-Secretary. They have graduated from important jobs there to vital jobs under British imperialism. How they preserve continuity was seen above.

The I.L.P. too are members of it. They are transplanting their whole Executive to its Congress. The workers who are members of these affiliated organisations of the Second International will know how to judge the facts that came to light as to its conspiracy against the Soviet Union.

The Trial of the Mensheviks.—In March this year, fourteen members of the Menshevik Party faced the Supreme, the highest Proletarian Court, to answer the charge of counter-revolutionary wrecking and sabotage, and of preparing for an armed intervention against the Soviet Union. Unable to deny the weight of evidence in the indictment, Groman, Sukhanov, Rubin, Sher and the others confessed their guilt.* During several days of public trial the secret connections of the accused and of the outwitted Mensheviks with the Foreign Bureau of the Mensheviks in Berlin were exposed; the leading rôle of Messrs. Dan and Abramovich, who are members of the executive of the Second International and are regular contributors to the Social Democratic central organs, *Vorwärts* in Berlin, *Populaire* in Paris, *Le Peuple* in Brussels, *Arbeiterzeitung* in Vienna, etc., was brought into the light of day. The trial also laid bare the fact that Vandervelde, Blum, Hilferding and company were not only kept constantly informed of the activities of the Menshevik wreckers and interventionists, but even supported them.

*See "The Menshevik Trial." Modern Books, 6d.

Before the forum of the world proletariat the leaders of the Second International, who tried to pose as accusers, were turned into the accused. Groman, Dan, Rubin, etc., dropped into the background. As it progressed the trial became more and more a fearful accusation against the counter-revolutionary policy of plotting the downfall of the Soviets, of the leaders of the Second International; the accusation could not be evaded or minimised by denials or "sworn" affidavits. The judgment passed by the proletarian court upon the Mensheviks was at the same time a judgment of political annihilation passed upon the Second International.

The Moscow trial proved beyond doubt that the imperialists' plan of military intervention is the basis of the campaign conducted against the Soviet Union not only by the world bourgeoisie, but also by international Social Democracy; it proved that the Menshevik Party has become a secret agency for economic sabotage in the Soviet Union and for preparing the way for the intervention. It exposed the leaders of the Second International as the worst agents of counter-revolutionary imperialism.

> "The investigation of the court has shown that their decision to adopt a policy of intervention and sabotage as a means of preparing the way for this led the Mensheviks to form a close political alliance with the counter-revolutionary kulak party of Kondratiev-Chayanov, etc., as well as with the 'Industrial Party,' the interventionist espionage and sabotage organisation of the wealthy bourgeoisie of the capitalist countries." (The verdict of the Court in the Menshevik trial.)

The trial pitilessly exposed the criminal plans of the Mensheviks and of the leaders of the Second International; likewise it exposed the motives which led the Russian Mensheviks and their patrons, the leaders of the Second International, on to the path of counter-revolutionary sabotage and the systematic preparation for the intervention. The accused admitted that they were working to bring about a "catastrophe," which should lead to peasant uprisings and to universal "bloody chaos," and that would create the proper situation for armed intervention.

With this in view they considered it their "duty" to speed up what was "historically inevitable," to ease the "birth-pangs of history." When the Dans and Abramoviches, not satisfied with the rate of sabotage up to that time, pressed for it to be reinforced and speeded up, the accused were unable to cope with the tasks set them. Industrial development in the Soviet Union was so rapid that all the difficulties created by the wreckers were overcome, and all the damage caused by organised sabotage was repaired. This threw the Gromans, Rubins and Company into perplexity and aroused in them a doubt as to the correctness and usefulness of their counter-revolutionary actions. Again Dan and Abramovich spurred them on. When Abramovich received the

reports of the accused as to the economic situation in the Soviet Union, he accused the authors of being "blinded by routine." He gave them fresh instructions to send reports which would show that the Soviet Union was hurtling towards certain disaster. As later reports did not satisfy this requirement, they were falsified and "revised" in Berlin to suit the purpose required. The purpose of this "Russian Information" was clear. On the one hand, it was to spur on the international bourgeoisie in preparing their plans for intervention; on the other hand, these reports were intended to prove to the working class the incapacity of the Bolsheviks to build up socialist industry.

The trial of the Mensheviks not only exposed this side of the criminal guilt of the leaders of the Second International; it also laid bare the fact that the Second International, the Vanderveldes, Blums, Hilferdings, etc., financed their agents in the Soviet Union in order that they might be able to organise their criminal work and enrol allies. Incontrovertible evidence was brought out at the Menshevik trial of their work of sabotage, especially in the work of planning national economy, in the sphere of the wheat-supply and raw materials for industry, in the distribution of manufactured goods, in the supply of food to the working-class centres, in the sphere of finance and credit. This evidence is of historic significance for the world proletariat: they show with what criminal means the leaders of the Second International are carrying on their struggle against the Soviet Union, the socialist fatherland of all toilers.

The Reply of the Unmasked Criminals and their Fellow-Conspirators

The publication of the indictment against Groman, Rubin, Sukhanov, Sher and Company let loose a "storm of indignation" in the entire Social Democratic press. By vilifying and slandering the party of Lenin, Comrade Stalin and of the proletarian court, the Social Democratic press tried to weaken the effect of the indictment. And when, in the first days of the trial, under the weight of the evidence collected against them, the accused confessed their guilt, the Social Democratic press started the cry about the "blackmail manoeuvres of the G.P.U." But only a few days later these very accused, these "victims of Stalin's violence," became "mercenary and corrupt subjects of the Soviet system." The press of the Second International dropped the accused and opened a rapid fire of calumny upon them from the very moment that they publicly confessed to the whole world their guilt and the joint responsibility of the Dans, the Abramoviches, the Vanderveldes, Blums and Hilferdings.

When the leaders of the Second International saw that their game was up, they threw off the mask and launched a fresh campaign of hate against the Soviet Union, expressing their unquenchable enmity to the land of victorious socialism.

Monsieur Vandervelde presents himself! On March 21, in the official news service bulletin of the Second International, Vandervelde published an article on the trial of the Mensheviks. In his introduction Vandervelde tries to build up a connection between the visit of the representatives of big German capitalist firms to Moscow and the sentence that followed the Menshevik trial, and then goes on to compose variations on the theme of the innocence of Dan and Abramovich. Monsieur Vandervelde speaks of "Mr. Krylenko's baseness," and declares that "the bourgeoisie knows as well as we do that there is not a true sentence in this detective story, which has been trumped up in every detail to satisfy the needs of home policy." Vandervelde then continues as follows:

> "In truth, one must have extraordinary faith in human gullibility to dare to accuse men like Hilferding, Blum, Friedrich Adler or myself of making common cause with the "Whites," of secretly preparing foreign intervention, of being of one cloth with the imperialist general staffs, at the same time that the bourgeois press daily reproaches us for steadfastly going with the Russian revolution, for opposing with all our might the policy of encirclement, boycott, the policy of isolation from the Soviet Union. The men in the Kremlin should not therefore harbour any illusions as to the successes which they may achieve with such manoeuvres. Even the publicity given to them is a great piece of imprudence. The power of a lie is limited. Sooner or later the truth comes to light. When this truth becomes known to the workers of the Soviet Union, then those who have deceived them with such impudence to-day will face a great reckoning. The day of reckoning comes for everyone."

The truth of which Monsieur Vandervelde spoke has come to light sooner than seemed desirable to him.

"The Day of Reckoning is Coming." At the very time M. Vandervelde published these lines in the news service bulletin of the Second International, *Le Peuple*, the organ of the Belgian Labour Party, brought out a "Protest of the General Council of the Belgian Labour Party against the despicable trials at Milan and Moscow." This document tosses the "dictatorial régime" of Fascism and of Bolshevism into the same pot and speaks in the same breath of the "Potentate Mussolini" and the "Potentate Stalin."

> "The recent trial," we read in this hypocritical document, "was not sufficient for Stalin to hide the weaknesses of his policy. He had need of a second trial, even more grotesque, in which Mensheviks were accused and, like those who stood before the judges' bench before them (representatives of the Industrial

Party), made confessions with a persistence which throws a significant light on Moscow's judicial procedure. The Moscow leaders are now making capital of these so-called revelations and are accusing all the Socialist parties of sabotaging the policy of the Soviets." . . . "These reigns of terror are therefore continuing their bloody work. We raise a passionate protest against these horrible procedures which are diametrically opposed to human conscience . . . But the tyrants wish by this means to hide the bankruptcy of the régime of which they are the embodiment!"

"This "protest" of Vandervelde's party likens the Soviet system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is building Socialism and wiping out the last vestiges of capitalism, with Mussolini's Fascist régime which gags the organised working class and brutally exploits it in order to save expiring capitalism. This comparison by itself shows whose spiritual offspring the leaders of Social Democracy are. But the protest of the Belgian Labour Party becomes even plainer in its concluding sentences, which refer obviously to the Soviet Union:

"Take care, the day of reckoning will soon come. The Socialist parties await it impatiently in order to set up a definitive system in this world."

This warning is nothing more nor less than an open summons to internal and external struggle against the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, against the heroic work in the building of Socialism. It most brilliantly illustrates Monsieur Vandervelde's renewed "protestations of peace."

The "Crazy Five-Year Plan." At the very same time an article appeared in *Populaire,* the organ of French Social Democracy, raising a howl of rage against Groman, Rubin and Company. They are all characterised as "agents of the Soviet Union," as "paid and bribed provocateurs." Then the author of the article, Rosenfeld, the expert on foreign affairs, commits the following treachery:

"Yes, there is tremendous 'sabotage' in Russia, but this sabotage of the entire economic, political, social and moral life is the consequence of the terroristic dictatorship of Bolshevism and of its mad undertaking, known as the Five-Year Plan. The real *saboteur* is Stalin. The real starver of the proletariat is Stalin. The real provocateur of discontent among the people is Stalin. It is he who is making ready for counter-revolution in Russia by destroying the revolution."

The Five-Year Plan, the tremendous successes of which even the deadly enemy of Socialism, the world bourgeoisie, has been grudgingly compelled to admit, which is being greeted and celebrated enthusiastically by the working class of the entire world, is represented by the *Populaire's* expert in foreign affairs, Rosenfeld, as a "mad undertaking." From this ruthless campaign of hate to open attack on the Soviet Union is but one short step.

The Central Lie Factory in Berlin. *Vorwärts,* the central organ of German Social Democracy, treats the Menshevik trial in the same despicable fashion. In the same way as the banknotes travelled from Hilferding's hands into the filthy paws of the saboteurs and counter-revolutionary wreckers, so the lying news and pitiful calumnies pass every day from *Vorwärts* to the editorial offices of the Social Democratic provincial press and from there to the Social Democratic workers.

In their verdict in the Menshevik trial the Soviet Supreme Court state :

> "At the same time the trial has proven that the central body of the Russian Social Democrats (Mensheviks) abroad has carried on its criminal and counter-revolutionary work in preparing for intervention and in financing the sabotage of the 'Union Bureau' for this purpose with the knowledge and approval of the Second International, which has protected this work and through the German Social Democracy has supported it with money."

From the Lindenstrasse in Berlin, instructions were sent through Dan, Abramovich and Company to the Menshevik saboteurs in the Soviet Union. That was likewise the centre for the organised campaign against the Soviet Union. Wels, the leader of German Social Democracy, came out openly as the patron of Dan, Abramovich and their agents in the Soviet Union. He expressly emphasised the fact that the Moscow trial was a "trial of our Russian Social Democratic comrades."

The "Left" Protests. After the trial was over the so-called "left" Social Democrats came on the stage with a fresh campaign against the Soviet Union. The *Leipziger Volkszeitung,* on the 10th of March, published an article entitled "The Revolution Covered with Shame," with the second headline, "Bolshevik Justice Struggling Against Social Democracy," in which we read the following :

> "While the Soviet Union officially allies itself with the Fascist States, invites the Fascist upper bourgeoisie to Russia and enters into close connections with it (to save capitalism—Ed.), the Socialist and Labour International is accused of preparing intervention and of carrying on a campaign of hate against the 'proletarian State.' . . . The Socialist working class has protested against this; it reinforces its protests not from reasons of party politics, but because by these Bolshevik methods the Russian revolution is not helped and the movement of international Socialism is humiliated and weakened."

Indeed, the Russian revolution and international Socialism could not wish for better defenders than the "left" Social Democrats !

"Not the Entire International." The Viennese *Arbeiterzeitung,* the organ of the Austrian Marxists, who play the part of the "left" wing of the international, did not dare to deny that the Second International favours violent overthrow and intervention, but it

questions whether the *entire* (our italics) Socialist and Labour International favours intervention . . . . In another part of the same article we read again: "Krylenko makes this grotesque accusation against the *entire* Socialist International."

Had Krylenko therefore made this accusation not against the *entire* Second International, but only against half of it, the Austro-Marxists of the Otto Bauer type would not protest. But making this serious accusation against the *entire* Second International is too much for Otto Bauer and his cronies! Against this he raises a restrained protest! The same article points out that at the Marseilles Congress of the Second International, that is as early as 1925, the proposal was made that: "If uprisings break out in Russia, it must be the duty of the Socialist Parties to place themselves at their head," and the writer adds: "No less an authority than Karl Kautsky supported this conception, but the Mensheviks advocated peaceful democratisation." On this point Otto Bauer disagrees with Kautsky and falls in with the "peaceful" Mensheviks, who, however, simply use another expression for one and the same thing.

The same *Arbeiterzeitung,* which disagrees on this point with Kautsky, refers to that same Kautsky, who to-day supports more strongly than ever the overthrow of the Soviet Union and has devoted to this question an entire book, called "Bolshevism at a Deadlock," as "our old master, whom we all respect."

What aim has the "old master" of the Second International set himself? In his book, in which he publicly and insistently demands intervention against the Soviet Union, he writes about the *aim* which must be fulfilled through the downfall of the Soviet power as follows:

> "That (the democratisation of the Soviet Union) means constant intercourse and the steady increase of Russian purchasing power on the world market. Thus a process would be begun which can finally lead to overcoming the frightful crisis which at the present time is weighing upon all contemporary industrial states."

At this point Kautsky advocates with the same frankness with which he demands intervention, a theory which is also advocated by the capitalists, namely, that the Soviet Union is the principal cause of the world economic crisis. Kautsky therefore demands the overthrow of the Soviet power and the destruction of the flourishing Soviet industry, in order that the capitalist vultures may make new profits. The counter-revolutionary designs and the criminal aims of the Second International cannot be better exposed.

The Right and "Left" Social Democrats, people like Vandervelde, Blum, Wels, and likewise Bauer, Seydewitz and Rosenfeld, know as well as Kautsky that the intervention of the

imperialist powers must lead to the establishment of a military dictatorship, to a reign of White Terror, to the annihilation of all the active elements of the Russian proletariat. Their demand, whether it be put, as Kautsky puts it, publicly and cynically, for intervention, or, as the "left" puts it, as "democratisation," amounts practically to supporting the plans of world imperialism.

Just as the activities of Groman, Rubin, Sher and their accomplices were an integral part of the joint preparations for intervention by the imperialist powers, so the heightened campaign of hatred and calumny waged by the Social Democratic press, representing the united front of the Vandervelde, Blums, Adlers, Bauers, Wels, Hilferdings and Company with Dan and Abramovitch, and the whole policy of the Second International toward the Soviet Union were an indissoluble part, and a most important one, of the imperialist preparations for war against the Soviet Union !

VI. "LEFT" PHRASES WITH COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY CAMPAIGNS OF HATE

During recent months the two most important problems publicly discussed in capitalist countries are the world economic crisis and the Five-Year Plan. The international bourgeoisie, which up to now had believed that it could brush aside the Five-Year Plan with a flick of its hand, has been compelled, by the tremendous successes which are being achieved in the third and decisive year, to concern itself seriously with this problem and with its reactions on the capitalist world. It is beginning to realise that the victory of the Five-Year Plan is beginning to have an influence in two directions. On the one hand Soviet industry, unaffected by all the sabotage and campaigns of hate, more and more successfully competes with the capitalist countries in the world market; on the other hand, the victory of planned Socialist economy has a revolutionising influence upon the toiling masses in the capitalist countries and gives rise to a movement of sympathy which is spreading to wider and wider strata.

> "Communist Russia and the revolutionary tendencies in all countries,' we read in the *Berliner Tageblatt,* the organ of finance capital, under date of June 8th, "are exerting increasing pressure. If a real understanding is ever reached in world economy and world politics, it will be due above all to the pressure of Russian reality."

The wish is father to the thought. In view of the progressive aggravation of the world economic crisis, which has gripped all the countries of the world, with a single exception—the Soviet Union—the international bourgeoisie is trying by means of new

manoeuvres to get a fresh chance in the struggle against the Soviet Union. The meaning of this manoeuvre is absolutely plain. The international bourgeoisie, up to its neck in water, is trying by negotiations with the Soviet Union, to stimulate trade and at the same time to gain a new breathing-spell. Their spokesmen's protestations of peace, such as we recently heard repeated at Geneva through the mouths of the honourable Mr. Henderson and Mr. Briand, are not worth the paper on which they are afterwards printed. The deadly emnity of those who benefit by the capitalist economic order towards the Soviet Union, the country of victorious Socialism, is unquenchable. The masses of the workers, who for so many years have been witnesses of the unparalleled campaign of hate and of the shameless slanders of the capitalist press, of captains of industry, and politicians against the Soviet Union, will not allow themselves to be misled and betrayed by these new manoeuvres, by this "swing toward the policy of agreement," as it is called by the capitalists.

Nor will they allow themselves to be misled and deceived by the manoeuvres of international Social Democracy, which, under the ever-growing pressure of the movement of sympathy and solidarity among the toiling masses of the entire world, is obliged to copy the example set by the international bourgeoisie, in which a pre-arranged card-game is being played off between the Right and the 'Left."

As an illustration of this Social Democratic manoeuvre to conceal the danger of intervention we wish to deal briefly with the attitude adopted by the Social Democratic Party Congresses which have met recently to prepare for the Congress of the Second International, which has been convoked for the end of July in Vienna.

The "Left" Manoeuvre of the Czech Social Democracy. The war-like activity of the Czecho-Slovak Social Fascists has already found expression in their attitude toward the question of armaments. The Social Democratic Deputy Serba once coined the expression, "Danger from the East." This term might express the mood that reigned at the Congress of the Czech Social Democratic Party. The leaders of the Czecho-Slovakian Social Democracy have, up to now, carried on a most virulent campaign of hate against the Soviet Union. The attitude of Czecho-Slovakian Social Democracy towards the Soviet Union was defined by Soukup in a speech at the Party Congress, in which he declared :

> "We believe in the approaching and solemn moment when the doors of Russia will be opened, just as the doors of Europe will be opened to the Russians."

This remark signifies nothing more or less than that the Czecho-Slovakian Social Democracy regards the conquest of the Soviet Union by the capitalist west as a "solemn moment." Lately the campaign in the Social Democratic press in Czecho-Slovakia against the Soviet Union has subsided somewhat, but this is not to

be attributed to any underlying change in the attitude toward the Soviet Union. It is due to the fact that the economic crisis is forcing the bourgeoisie of Czecho-Slovakia to take up the question of recognition of the Soviet Union.

National Defence at the Congress of the Socialist Party of France. At this year's Congress of the Socialist Party of France, held in Tours, the principal item of discussion was the question of national defence. The attitude adopted by the French Socialist Party Congress toward this question is at the same time the key to the question of Social Democracy's attitude toward the war of intervention against the Soviet Union. The Right wing, led by Boncour, strongly demanded that the Party should definitively renounce "demagogical" formulae like "Not a penny, not a man for national defence." Such formulae, he said, only serve to weaken the successes of the Party at the polls and to render difficult the position of the Socialist Party in the event of its entering the Government.

The former "Left" wing, led by Paul Fauré and Jiromski, which has now moved towards the Centre, gave way to this opinion and dropped their original proposal which had contained the slogan criticised by Boncour. But the formation of two new fractions, the "Left" and the extreme Left, interfered with the fusion of the Centre with the Right, which was intended to be hidden with a sea of pacifist phrases. One of these fractions went back to the decision of the Stuttgart International Congress and demanded the transformation of any imperialist war into civil war. In order to prevent the adoption of this resolution, Paul Fauré again included in his own resolution the slogan, "Not a penny, not a man," which he had already omitted after Paul Boncour's criticism, and when put to the vote it received a majority.

The purpose of this manoeuvre, which was staged by Léon Blum, was to make the rank and file of the Party believe that the Party does not adhere to the military preparations which are being carried out by French imperialism and which are directed first of all against the Soviet Union. It would thus be enabled to make a show of opposition in order not to wound the feelings of the masses, but could at the same time enter the front ranks in the ideological preparation for the attack against the Soviet Union and defend without reserve Briand's foreign policy, the chief task of which is to organise the European front for this attack against the Soviet Union.

Of especial importance was Léon Blum's declaration at this Party Congress in reply to the attacks made by the rank and file delegates upon the anti-Soviet campaign led by the foreign editor of *Populaire,* Rosenfeld. Raising his voice, Léon Blum declared: "I am Rosenfeld. Every word that Rosenfeld writes is approved by me. There is not a single article in *Populaire* about the Soviet Union which I have not read first." This declaration exposes the

real attitude of French Social Democracy toward the question of national defence and toward the question of the Soviet Union. The fact that Léon Blum identifies himself with Rosenfeld shows that *the leaders of French Social Democracy are steering openly and unambiguously for the preparation of intervention against the Soviet Union and are making common cause with French imperialism.*

The Question of Intervention at the Congress of the Polish Socialist Party. The Congress of the Polish Socialist Party was practically a demonstration against the Soviet Union. Chapinski, the reporter on this question at the Congress, declared that the P.P.S. was categorically opposed to any idea of armed intervention against the U.S.S.R., but in the course of his report he declared :

> "The building up of industry is not the building up of Socialism since the citizens of Russia are paying for this construction by starvation and slavery."

In another part of the same report he said :

> "The proletariat of Russia produces in order that the Government may export their products at a low price ; it is forced to do this in order to obtain foreign valuta to buy the machines needed for Soviet industry. Such a policy has *nothing in common with the building of Socialism."*

Wedsikovski, one of the leading "theoreticians" of the P.P.S., writes in the same vein :

> "To identify the Five-Year Plan with the building of Socialism is nonsense . . . "

And the leader of the "Left opposition," Zielkosh, declared at the Party Congress that the

> "period of the coalition of 1919-1920 deserves the most complete sanction and approval.'

But this period of the coalition was the period of the *armed attack on the Soviet Union.* The approval of this coalition by "Left opposition" means full approval of the criminal participation by Poland's Social Democracy in the first imperialist intervention against the Soviet Union. This declaration likewise applies to the attitude of Polish Social Democracy in case of future imperialist intervention against the Soviet Union.

The falsity of Chapinski's declaration is exposed by the same issue of the *Robotnik* in which the above-quoted report is published. On the first page of this issue of the *Robotnik* telegrams are published, originating from the notorious Riga lie factory, and carry the following headlines : "Soviet Workers Get No Bread," "New Compulsory Loans Among the Soviets." This base and lying campaign against the Soviet Union shows the real face of the "struggle" carried on by Polish Social Democracy against the "idea of armed intervention."

From Bauer to Adler. In regard to Austrian Social Democracy on the question of intervention, Otto Bauer and Friedrich Adler are eloquent witnesses to the duplicity displayed in this nation. In the *Wiener Arbeiterzeitung,* Otto Bauer recently published a letter to a comrade who had begun to doubt the correctness of the policy of Social Democracy. In this letter Otto Bauer defends "criticism" of the Soviet Union as follows:

> "But, comrade, when you draw from this hope the conclusion that we must not 'criticise' Russia and find nothing to blame in Bolshevism, you are wrong. Marx and Engels passionately defended the Paris Commune of 1871, the great uprising of the Paris workers, against the capitalist world . . . and yet they criticised it." (*Weiner Arbeiterzeitung,* May 31st, 1931.)

Bauer's parallel between the attitude of Marx and Engels toward the Paris Commune and the attitude of Social Democracy toward the Soviet Union would lead to the conclusion that Social Democracy is a "passionate champion" of the Soviet Union, or, at any rate, some of its leaders are. The perusal of this very *Arbeiterzeitung* is enough, however, to convince us of the contrary. This paper, like the Berlin *Vorwärts* and the Paris *Populaire,* is full of lying and distorted communications about the U.S.S.R. Perhaps by "criticism" Otto Bauer means the criticism which the international bourgeoisie wants to exercise, the "criticism by arms"? His "Left" pose is for the workers, who, however, are more and more recognising that the Soviet Union is their real Fatherland, which they must defend.

> "We are pursuing a determined policy of peace. We are not slackening our struggle for peace, but are continuing it in every way. *We inseparably link our struggle for the Five-Year Plan with the struggle for peace.* The correctness of the Leninist policy of Soviet power is proven by facts. The correctness of the Bolshevik policy finds confirmation in the great achievements of Soviet power and in the successful carrying out of the Five-Year Plan. *The Bolshevik line wins!*" (Molotov in his concluding speech at the Sixth Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R.)

The reverse side of the medal is presented by Friedrich Adler, the political friend and crony of Otto Bauer, also Secretary of the Second International. Mr. Friedrich Adler poses as the protector of the Gromans, Rubins, and their backers, Dan and Abramovich, and declares:

> "Their work of sabotage can be presented to ignorant people by demagogues as an excuse for hunger, for the disorganisation of transport and for the failure of national economy in Russia . . . " (*Kampf,* 1931, vol. 4, p. 147.)

Is this a "passionate defence" of the Soviet Union? Is it loyal "criticism" or one of the usual calumnies such as we find everywhere in the international press of Social Democracy? We leave it to our readers to determine.

But that is not all. As regards the exposure of the criminal plans of intervention and the open preparations for war against the Soviet Union, Mr. Friedrich Adler writes:

"What we have to fear is that they (the men in power in Moscow), if they once consider a revolutionary war necessary, will also apply the old trick played by all kindlers of wars, i.e., pretending to be the Party attacked." (Same article, *Kampf*, p. 154.)

By this assertion Mr. Friedrich Adler, the Secretary of the Second International, steps into line with the spokesmen of the White Guard hireling-armies and French imperialists. M. Poincaré could not have put it more neatly in case of an attack upon the Soviet Union.

The face of Otto Bauer, and the face of Friedrich Adler, are the face of the Second International. Behind Otto Bauer's "Left" mask is the grinning counter-revolutionary "mug" of Friedrich Adler, of the Second International, and of Austrian Social Democracy.

Distributing Rôles at the Leipzig Party Congress. The Leipzig Congress of the German Social Democratic Party will live in the history of the Social Democratic betrayal of the workers as the "armoured-cruiser Party Congress." At this Congress people like Wels, Tarnov, Breitscheid, Crispien and their cronies definitively concluded a *pact with the German bourgeoisie to suppress the revolution.* And the "Left" wing, those tin-soldier heroes, did no more than utter a feeble, pitiful protest. When the former Chief of Police of Berlin, Wels, whose hands drip with the blood of hundreds of revolutionary workers, looked sternly at the representatives of the "Left"—like Seydewitz, Rosenfeld, Stroebel and Eckstein—and threatened them with excommunication, they came creeping up, tails drooping, and betrayed the rebellious masses of Social Democratic workers.

At this "armoured-cruiser Congress" the *mortal enmity of the leaders of German Social Democracy against the Soviet Union* was clear as day. In his opening speech Wels set the tone. He began with a hypocritical acknowledgment of the great historical achievement represented by

"linking up one hundred and twenty million people in the Soviet Union in the general economic process. But the struggles which had already developed from the contradictions of the system are already a struggle for political power between the Communists and the wealthier peasants," he said. "If the industrial part of the Five-Year Plan should fail, it would all be over with the collectivisation of the land. *The Russian peasant defended his land against the White Guards, against Wrangel and Kolchak. To-day he is defending his land against the Communists . . .*" Then Wels goes on:

"But the Soviet Union is in no respect a working-class State. The story that Russia is a working-class State is a fairy-tale for silly children. The Russian worker is no proletarian, but simply a peasant in a blue blouse, without any political or social schooling . . . As a matter of fact, the red flag only serves in Russia to develop capitalist economy as State capitalism at the expense of the Russian workers. *Communism is capitalism and not Socialism.*"

That was the gem in which Wels summed up his reflections on the Soviet Union, only to continue :

"Bolshevism and Fascism are both based on dictatorship. No matter how radical the gestures they may make, they have nothing in common with Socialism, for the profound lesson of the Russian revolution is that without democracy Socialism is impossible."

The proletariat in the capitalist countries, in the countries of that celebrated democracy that Wels talks about, experiences daily and hourly on its own body the blessings of this democracy. There is no need to defend the Soviet Union against the slanders and suspicions heaped upon it by Mr. Wels. Wels was followed by Tarnov, the chief reporter of the Congress, who in essence repeated Wels' attacks and slanders, only with the difference that he sought to clothe them in a garment of theory.

Mr. Crispien, who is developing more and more into a specialist in anti-Soviet calmuny, spoke out even more frankly. To the remark made by the "Left" Engelbert Graf, that Social Democracy must face the problem of Soviet Russia more realistically and not so hypocritically, Crispien replied :

"In Graf's attitude toward Soviet Russia I miss not only a feeling of solidarity for our Russian comrades (Dan, Abramovich and Company, D.V.), but even the feeling of international solidarity in general. I cannot understand how a Social Democrat cannot help flying into a rage when he thinks at whose expense the experiments in Russia are being made. If for us, as in Russia, man is really only secondary, only the raw material for the policy of power carried on by a clique of leaders with unparalleled brutality, then Socialism has lost its meaning . . . "

Crispien's base slanders were "greeted enthusiastically" by the majority of the delegates, while the Social Democratic working men present in the gallery protested against it fiercely. In view of the protests of the Social Democratic workers from the gallery of the Congress and in view of the growing movement of sympathy for the Soviet Union among the broadest masses of the workers, the spokesmen of the "Left" were obliged to affirm the great successes of the Five-Year Plan, however illogically.

But this fact does not signify that the "Left" of the stamp of Seydewitz, Rosenfeld and their cronies are ready, in case of an

attack on the Soviet Union, to summon the Social Democratic workers to defend it. It is one of the "Left" manoeuvres, made by these people in order—we quote Seydewitz—"to keep the masses in the bridle," meaning in the Social Democratic Party.

The same is true for Wels-Crispien and Seydewitz-Rosenfeld as what we have said of Otto Bauer and Friedrich Adler, of Leon Blum and Paul Fauré.

Whether they appear as open enemies or in the mask of friends of the Soviet Union, they are all in reality *mortal enemies of the Soviet Union, mortal enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat* !

VII. THE TRAITORS TO SOCIALISM CAUGHT IN THE ACT

We accuse the leaders of the Second International, Abramovich, Dan and Company, the Vanderveldes, Blums, Bauers, Adlers, Weis, Hilferdings, Crispiens, MacDonalds, Hendersons, etc., of being *traitors to Socialism.*

We have proved by historical facts that the Russian Mensheviks, the Polish Mensheviks, the German Social Democrats and the entire Second International actively supported the first imperialist intervention against the Soviet Union and thus, before the world proletariat, they bear full responsibility for the slaughter of thousands and thousands of revolutionary fighters in the land of the proletarian dictatorship. We have shown, by documents and facts, that the Russian Mensheviks allied themselves with the White Guard counter-revolution and carried on the struggle against Bolshevism jointly with the mercenary bands of the counter-revolution.

The trial of the Mensheviks has shown that after the defeat of the White Guard counter-revolution the Mensheviks and the Second International as a whole made common cause with world imperialism in order to overthrow the Soviet power. Hand in hand with the conspirators of the capitalist Industrial Party, they organised acts of sabotage against Socialist reconstruction and against the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan. The trial furnished the proof that the Second International not only has stood and stands to-day in closest connection with these conspirators and traitors to Socialism, but that it even financed their work of sabotage.

We have furnished documentary proof that the leaders of the Second International consciously and systematically are working toward a *new intervention against the Soviet Union,* that they stand on the same battle-front as the imperialist robbers against the Soviet Union.

Kautsky, the spokesman of the Second International in matters of theory, proclaims publicly and plainly the downfall of the Soviet régime. We cite again :

"The Russian people must consider itself lucky if the Soviet dictatorship is replaced by a régime like that of Napoleon III." (January number of *Gesellschaft.*)

Abramovich, the leader of the Mensheviks and a member of the Executive of the Second International, declares himself expressly to be in agreement with Kautsky :

"In the concrete demands and aspirations of our programme there is no difference whatever between our 'progress in action' and the programme developed by Kautsky in his book. (Article in the preface to the book.)

Wels, the President of the German Social Democratic Party, declared at a protest demonstration at which he appeared together with Abramovich :

"The trial in Moscow is the trial of our Russian Social Democratic comrades with whom we feel ourselves most intimately connected."

Thus a straight line passes from Kautsky via Abramovich to Wels. This line is continued through men like Bauer, Seydewitz, and Rosenfeld, who represent the "Lefts" masked as friends of the Soviet Union, but who in reality are not less dangerous enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat and traitors to Socialism.

The leaders of the Second International cannot destroy these proofs. Facts are stubborn things. Yet all the Vanderveldes, Blums, Bauers, Wels, Hilferdings and cronies beat their breasts, raise "solemn protest" and deny every allegation of guilt.

They deny the danger of intervention—but at the same time they assert that they will, as they always have done, struggle against intervention. If there is no danger of intervention, then why these protestations?

There is no danger of intervention, cries the entire Social Democratic press. But the Russian Menshevik Abramovich accuses the Georgian Menshevik, Jordania, of interventionist activities. Both of them are members of the Executive of the Second International.

Yes, but there is danger of war, says the leaders of the Second International. It comes, not from imperialist Western Europe, but *from the proletarian East.*

Not world imperialism, but the Soviet Union is the menace of war, cry the trapped and unmasked interventionists in the camp of the Second International.

"Russian Soviet-Imperialism, which has overcome by violence and robbed of their rights a large number of non-Russian peoples, most of whom culturally are no more backward than the Russian, is moreover striving to extend its rule as widely as possible and to set other countries to quarrelling. That is the greatest war-menace !"

Thus writes *Vorwärts*. And the "Left" Social Democratic *Wiener Arbeiterzeitung* seconds it and writes, in trying to explain why Roumania is heading for Royal dictatorship, and in drawing a comparison between Roumania and Yugoslavia.

"Both (Roumania and Yugoslavia, D.V.) are military States in which the army is of great importance, for both feel themselves constantly threatened by external foes. While Fascist Italy lies in wait for Dalmatia, *Bolshevik Russia from the northern bank of the Dniestr threatens irruption into Bessarabia.*"

This is the language of French imperialism! This is the true form and face of the accused, of people like Dan and Abramovich, of the Vandervelde, Blums, Bauers, Adlers, Wels, Crispiens, Hilferdings and Seydewitzes . . .

The sentence passed by the Proletarian Court in Moscow upon the wreckers and saboteurs is at the same time the sentence passed on the leaders of the Second International. In the fate of Russian Menshevism, which has been cast out by the Russian proletariat and is despised by the world proletariat, the fate of world Social Democracy is foreshadowed. The strength of Social Democracy is the strength of the bourgeoisie. When the latter has been shattered by the victorious working class, then the last hours will have struck for the bourgeoisie as well and for its capitalist economic order.

The masses of the workers in capitalist countries, who are following with hopeful eyes the successes of the Socialist reconstruction in the Soviet Union, who greet with enthusiasm the victory of the Five-Year Plan and who are ready to defend the Soviet Union, the Socialist Fatherland of all toiling masses, must realise clearly that the country which is building Socialism is threatened by the greatest danger not only from the capitalist robbers, but also from international Social Democracy which is allied for weal or woe with the international bourgeoisie!

They must realise that the war of intervention against the Soviet Union is an acute, a real danger which threatens not only the toiling masses of the Soviet Union, but the entire world proletariat.

The trial in Moscow passed sentence of death upon Menshevism! The death-sentence on Menshevism is likewise the death-sentence on the Second International, on world Social Democracy. The revolutionary proletariat must execute the sentence!

To the intensified campaign against the Soviet Union, the Socialist Fatherland of the toilers of the entire world, to the growing armaments of war, to the fighting alliance of the international Social Democracy with the international bourgeoisie, the proletariat of the world must reply by forming a steel-like revolutionary battle-front to defend the Soviet Union, to organise the victorious World October!

You will want to follow this up by reading:

Preparations against the Soviet Union

M. Cachin and a number of other writers from Britain, U.S.A., Germany, Finland, Poland, Roumania, etc. 6d.

The Success of the Five Year Plan

V. M. Molotov—Chairman of People's Commissars 6d.

The Wreckers Exposed

The Industrial Party Trial Exposed 2d.

The Menshevik Trial

The Second International Indicted 6d.

That "Forced Labour" Lie

All the facts—why the lie— and where forced labour is 3d.

The Labour Government

J. T. Murphy 6d.

Capitalism v. Socialism in Britain?

R. P. Dutt 3d.

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